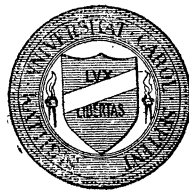


**SUPPLEMENT TO THE NORTH CAROLINA HIGH SCHOOL
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JANUARY, 1913 VOL. IV—NO. 1**

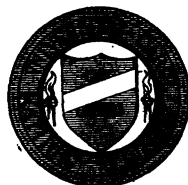
**SELECTED ARGUMENTS
ON
WOMAN SUFFRAGE**



**COMPILED BY
HIGH SCHOOL DEBATING COMMITTEE
Dialectic and Philanthropic Societies
UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL, N. C.**

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REGULATIONS CONCERNING THE HIGH SCHOOL DEBATING UNION OF NORTH CAROLINA

*(Under the Auspices of the Dialectic and Philanthropic Literary
Societies of the University of North Carolina).*

1. The Dialectic and Philanthropic Literary Societies of the University of North Carolina will suggest a query to be discussed on a given date, by the high schools entering the Union, (this date to be determined by the Societies after they have ascertained the wishes of the schools themselves) and will furnish from the University Library, free of cost, in pamphlet form, such material as will enable them to comprehend and discuss intelligently the various points covered by the question. Additional sources of information will be indicated from which other material may be secured by the teams at their own expense if they desire it.
2. All secondary schools of North Carolina, however supported, offering regularly organized courses of study above the seventh grade, and not extending in their scope and content beyond a standard four-year high school course as defined by the State Department of Education, shall be eligible for membership in the Debating Union.
3. All schools accepting this offer of the Societies and thus becoming members of the Union shall be arranged by the Societies into groups of three, for a triangular debate, the status and standards of the schools, their proximity, accessibility, and convenience of location to be considered in forming the groups. (The suggestions of the different schools as to whom they would like to debate will be gladly received and will be observed if possible).

4. Each school of each triangular group shall agree to furnish two debating teams of two members each, the one to uphold the affirmative side of the query, and the other to defend the negative side.
5. The team debating at home shall in each case uphold the affirmative side of the query, and the visiting team shall in each case defend the negative side.
6. The schools themselves shall select and agree upon the judges of the local contests.
7. Each speaker shall have twenty minutes at his disposal, not more than five of which shall be used in the rejoinder.
8. Any school which shall win both the affirmative and negative sides of the query shall be entitled to send both its teams to the University, at Chapel Hill, for the State championship contest.
9. The school having the strongest team on the affirmative side of the query and the school having the strongest team on the negative side shall be entitled to contest publicly in the University Chapel for the Aycock Memorial Cup. (The strongest team on each side of the query is to be determined by means of a preliminary contest at Chapel Hill).
10. The school which shall win the debate, thus finally held, shall have its name inscribed on the Memorial Cup, together with the names of its two winning representatives.
11. Any school which shall win out in the final contest for two years in succession shall have the cup for its own property.
12. All high school representatives sent to the University in this contest will be met at the station by a committee of the Societies and entertained by them as the Societies' guests while at Chapel Hill.

NOTE: Girls are eligible to enter these contests as well as boys.

PREFATORY NOTE

The query, "Resolved, That the Constitution of North Carolina should be so amended as to allow women to vote under the same qualification as men" was selected by the committee from the Societies because of the growing importance of the woman suffrage movement. At the recent election this fall four States, Kansas, Michigan, Arizona, and Oregon, adopted constitutional amendments granting suffrage to women. The following States have had equal suffrage for a number of years: Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, Idaho, Washington, and California. Among the other American States said to be leaning toward the granting of suffrage to women are: the Dakotas, Nevada, Montana, Ohio, Texas, Pennsylvania, Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Iowa. Seventeen additional States give school suffrage to women, this bringing the total number of States granting full or partial suffrage up to twenty-seven. At the recent election a woman was elected one of the presidential electors from Washington. She is the first woman to be a member of the electoral college. Thus it is probable that in the course of a short time North Carolina will have to decide whether or not she shall allow her women to vote.

The preliminary triangular debates throughout the State will be held Friday, February 21, 1913, and the final contest for the Aycock Memorial Cup will be held at Chapel Hill two weeks later, March 7. For the benefit of some who may not fully understand Sections 4 and 5 of the Regulations, a fuller explanation of these sections is given: Each school in the Union puts out two teams, one to uphold the affirmative at home with a visiting team of the same triangle and the other to defend the negative at the third school in the triangle. For instance, in the triangle of Raleigh, Greensboro, and Charlotte, Raleigh debates the affirmative at home with a negative team from Charlotte, and sends a negative team to Greensboro; Greensboro debates the affirmative at home with a negative team from Raleigh, and sends a negative team to Charlotte; Charlotte debates the affirmative at home with the negative team from Greensboro, and sends a negative team to Raleigh.

Resolved, That the Constitution of North Carolina should be so amended as to allow women to vote under the same qualifications as men.

OUTLINE

Introductory note: This outline is made merely for the purpose of offering some suggestions as to points and as to a method that may be followed in arguing the question.

INTRODUCTION

1. Better education and advanced ideas of government have brought about a demand for more rights and privileges for women.
2. One of the most important of these is woman suffrage.
3. In practically all the leading countries there is an agitation for woman suffrage. There are ten American States: Wyoming, Utah, Idaho, Colorado, Washington, California, Kansas, Michigan, Arizona, and Oregon, that have woman suffrage. Also, New Zealand, Australia, Norway, Switzerland and other foreign countries have woman suffrage.
4. The question presents four main issues:
 - (1) Do women have the right of suffrage?
 - (2) Is it best for them to have it?
 - (3) Is it best for the State for them to have it?
 - (4) Have the results of woman suffrage been such as to justify its extension?

AFFIRMATIVE

1. Granting that the suffrage is not a natural right nor a right given by the Constitution of the United States, it is a right to which they are entitled.
 - A. It should be provided for on the ground that mental equipment rather than physical ability is the correct basis for granting the privilege of voting.
 - (1) Women are the equals of men in mentality.
 - B. It is in keeping with the prevailing ideas of American democracy of today.

- (1) All people, *barring certain restrictions*, who are governed have a voice in determining the character of their government.
- II. The suffrage would be beneficial to women.
 - A. It would broaden them mentally and socially.
 - (1) By reason of the right to vote they would be led to study civil and political questions.
 - (2) By being placed on an equality with men women would receive greater respect for their opinions.
 - B. It would result in laws more favorable to woman's economic and legal rights.
 - (1) New occupations would be open to women.
 - (2) They would receive better wages.
 - (3) They would legislate against inequalities to which they are subjected under present laws.
 - (a) They would do this in regard to the division of property.
 - (b) They would do this in regard to matters of taxation.
- III. Woman suffrage would be beneficial to the State.
 - A. By reason of their character women are well qualified to vote.
 - (1) They have a keener sense of right and wrong than men.
 - (2) They are qualified mentally to vote.
 - (a) They are better students than men.
 - B. Equal suffrage would result in less corruption in politics.
 - (1) Women would demand that candidates be of high moral character.
 - (2) They would carry the wholesome conservation of the home into politics.
 - C. Equal suffrage would result in laws more favorable to homes, schools, public health, etc.
 - D. Women would be better trained, as a result of their activity in politics, to instill correct ideas of citizenship in their children.
- IV. The reasons and considerations that make woman suffrage advisable and efficient in other States hold good in North Carolina.
 - A. Equal suffrage has proved successful where it has been tried.
 - (1) Better men have been nominated for office.
 - (2) Elections have been more orderly.

- (3) The dignity of woman has not been lowered, and the welfare of the home has not been endangered.
- B. There is no fundamental difference between the people of North Carolina and the people of the States which have woman suffrage.
- C. The absence of large towns in this State makes impossible the corruption at the polls which exists in large cities.
- D. North Carolina's progress, especially in education, warrants this progressive step.

NEGATIVE

- 1. The suffrage should not be granted to women.
 - A. Women are not the equal of men mentally.
 - (1) They have not shown their mental equality.
 - (a) In constructive policies.
 - B. They could not carry into effect the measures they might enact.
 - (1) They do not have the physical power.
 - C. The granting of the suffrage to women is not demanded by the principles of present day democracy.
 - (1) Women have representation in government through men.
 - (a) Even Congress works through representative committees.
 - (2) Many men pay taxes and are not allowed to vote.
- II. The suffrage would be detrimental to women.
 - A. It would burden women with new responsibilities.
 - (1) They would be placed in office.
 - B. It would lower them in the estimation of men.
 - C. It would take them out of their proper sphere of life.
 - D. Their suffrage would be used by bad, as well as good women.
- III. The suffrage would be detrimental to State interests.
 - A. Women would not fully understand the issues involved and would be a dangerous tool in the hands of scheming politicians.
 - B. More unscrupulous women would vote than conscientious ones.
 - (1) The corrupt element of a city usually gets control of the city's government.
 - (2) Men who do not vote are often the best of men.

- (4) Bad ones are often used by scheming politicians.
- C. Women would neglect the home.
 - (1) Political duties would take their attention away from the home.
 - (2) Women's organizations, religious, civil and moral, would lag.
- D. It would result in dissensions in the home.
 - (1) The unity of the home would be broken.
 - (2) Quarrels over political matters would ensue between husband and wife.
- IV. Results in States which have tried woman suffrage do not warrant its adoption in North Carolina.
 - A. Women, having obtained the right in other States, show little interest.
 - (1) Comparatively few have registered or voted.
 - (2) Almost none have attended the primaries.
 - (3) Enthusiasm in Colorado, Utah and Oklahoma is short-lived; a fad.
 - B. There is no demand for it in this State.
 - (1) No organized movement has shown itself.
 - C. Conditions in North Carolina are not similar to those prevailing in other States.
 - (1) North Carolina is a conservative State.
 - (2) Southern women, and particularly North Carolina women, have always been noted for their ideal home life, and not for a political or business-like temperament.
 - D. North Carolina's progress, especially in education, is no argument for woman suffrage.
 - (1) Woman suffrage does not necessarily follow the education of women.

THE LOGICAL BASIS OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE

BY MRS. ANNA G. SPENCER.

Sup. to The Ann. Am. Acad., May, 1910.

The significance of the Woman Suffrage Movement is twofold; it is a response to the general movement of Democracy toward the individuation of all members of all previously subjected or submerged classes of society; and it is also a social response to the new demands of citizenship which have followed inevitably the new and voiced increase in the functions of government.

The response to the general movement toward democracy has in less than one hundred years changed the conditions of woman in the chief centers of so-called Christian civilization from that of "Status" to that of "Contract;" a complete change from that condition in which the married woman while her husband lived could neither hold property, make business contract, receive wages in her own right for her own work even outside the home, acquire legal powers over her own children, act as guardian for a minor child, her own or another's, or in any manner acquire the rights of an adult individual, under the law. During her marriage, she was, as a minor child, protected in some manner against "abuse" (of which in quantity and in quality men and not women were the judges), but in no sense invested with the rights of an independent adult person under the law, as in social, educational or industrial citizenship.

It was, of course, inevitable that the doctrine of the rights of men should come at last to include the rights of woman, just as it was inevitable that the rights of white men should come at last to include the rights of black and yellow and brown men. The great eighteenth century struggle in human progress was for the recognition of what Charles Sumner called "That equality of rights which is the first of

rights." It was for a scheme and practice of political organization which should deny special privileges to any, which should secure liberty and greater justice in all the relations of life to all the different classes of men than had before been known. Although the winning of such measure of democracy in government as we have attained does not bring in the Millenium, and has not yet been applied perfectly enough even to men to fully increase its influence for good, any student of history can challenge the most pessimistic observer of American life to furnish an example of any more aristocratic form of government which has resulted in as high an average of physical, mental and moral well-being for the majority of the people as even such a partial democracy as our own. Women, since Abigail Adams demanded of the framers of our Constitution some recognition of the rights of women in their deliberations, have seen that there is no argument that can be framed for equality before the law for all classes of men that does not apply with equal force to both sexes. The woman suffrage movement, however, is only as old as the immortal Seneca Falls meeting of 1848. That was a "Woman's Rights Meeting," and only incidentally and without hesitation pledged to a demand for the ballot; its chief stress being laid upon higher education for women, better industrial conditions, more just professional opportunity for qualified women, and larger social freedom; together with a strong appeal for the legal right of adult women to have and to hold property and to secure that "Contract of Power" that marks the dividing line between a responsible person and a child or imbecile.

There are two arguments, and only two, that can possibly be brought against the application of the general principles of democracy to law-abiding and mentally competent women—one is that women are not human beings; the other that they are a kind of human beings so different from men that general principles of right and wrong proved expedient as a basis of action in the development of men do not apply to them.

I take it that this company would not subscribe to the ancient belief that "Women have neither souls nor minds," but are a "delusion and a snare," invented for practical purposes of life, but not to be counted in when the real life

of humanity is under consideration. Are then women of such a different sort of humanity that they do not need individual protection under the law, do not require the mental and moral discipline of freedom and personal responsibility for the development of character are justly and fully provided for through the political arrangements of men, by men and for men, and therefore should be forcibly restrained from complete citizenship? Some, many, seem to believe.

The political democracy fought for in the eighteenth century, and partially obtained, led inevitably to the educational democracy struggled for and partially obtained in the nineteenth century, and most strikingly illustrated in the American public school. The industrial democracy now striving toward realization must follow the sharing of political rights and duties and the educational preparation for good and wise citizenship which we have in such large measure already attained. Now the democratizing of the family and of the social life is an inevitable and more and more conscious demand in order that we may have real and not sham, full-orbed and not partial, democracy may be nurtured and developed. Unless women are made the vital and more responsible part of democracy in education, and democracy in political service, and democracy in industrial organization, they cannot rear fit citizens for a genuine and matured democratic State. Thus, unless you repudiate democracy you must finally include in its range of social influence all classes and both sexes.

The second element of significance in the woman suffrage movement is the social response to the new demands of citizenship made by the new type of State which has been developed in this later stage of human progress. The family and the Church used to take care of education; industry used to be a personal concern of domestic handicraft. Now all the functions of social order have been differentiated and started on separate but inter-related careers. The Church is not now a legal power; the school has become a function of the State; the new industrial order has necessitated legal protection of the weak and ignorant against the strong and shrewd. The State has gradually, and in these later days with astonishing celerity, taken over not only education, but charity and constructive social effort toward the common welfare. A thousand details of truly spiritual activity, which once were held solely within the sphere of the domestic

and religious life, are now concerns of Government.

What are the great functions of social service for which "human beings of the mother sex" have been held chiefly responsible since society began? The care, the nurture, the development of child-life; the care of the sick, the aged and infirm; the relief of the unfortunate; the protection and care of the defective; the general ministry of strength to weakness. These are the functions that the Modern State has taken over from the home and from the Church. These are the functions the Modern State *cannot perform without the direct and voiced aid of women*. These are the Modern State activities that make the largest army of public employees the teachers, of which ninety per cent. are women; and the next largest army the caretakers of the sick and insane and unfortunate of every kind, of which at least three-fourths are women. "Yes," but the Anti-Suffragist says, "women should work as subordinates for society through State employment, but they should not become a part of the political powers of control and supervision." Then, if that be so, women are degraded from their ancient position in the office of personal ministry; for women, under the old regime of education, had command of the training of all the girls and all the little boys; and under the old regime in charity not only did the work, but determined what that should be.

If, then, women are human beings and not so unlike men as to render all human experience useless in a matter of their character development, they, too, as well as men, must be sent to school, to political duty and responsibility, if they are to rightly serve as mothers and teachers of potential citizens of democratic States.

If, then, the State, as can be easily proved, has taken on in modern times functions of dynamic social influence in education, in charity, in protection and development of the personal life, thus undertaking the things which, from the foundation of society, has been peculiarly "woman's sphere," it is as absurd as it is unwise and socially harmful to deprive the State of the service of women in all capacities of both subordinate activity and trained supervision and control.

This all means on both these grounds that women must be given the duty and responsibility as well as the power of the ballot in order that there may be established a free, recognized and obvious channel by which the value of women's contributions to the State may be conserved and effectively applied to social welfare.

ANSWER TO THE ARGUMENTS IN SUPPORT OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE

BY LYMAN ABBOTT.

Sup. to Ann. Am. Acad., May, 1910.

In my study of the suffrage movement, and it has been a subject of study with me for fifty years past, I have discovered but five arguments in support of this revolutionary demand.

It is claimed that the suffrage is a natural right, as much so as the rights of person and of property, and that we must do justice though the heavens fall. The notion that suffrage is a natural right is a relic of the French Revolution which has not survived in political philosophy the doctrinaires who gave birth to it. The rights of persons are absolute and unconditioned. Whatever his age and condition, the child has a right to his life—killing the unborn child is murder; his right to his property is absolute and unconditioned—if he is not old enough to administer it himself, a guardian is appointed, or his natural guardian is entrusted with its keeping and its care. But the right of suffrage is always determined by the community which grants it; it depends upon an age artificially determined on, upon a residence artificially defined. The would-be voter must have resided in the Nation a certain number of years, in the State a certain number of months, in the district a certain number of days. In some States he must have an educational qualification, and in others a property qualification, and in others he must have paid taxes. But the payment of taxes does not give him the right to vote. He must pay taxes in every State in the union, and in every county of the State, but he can vote only in one county of one State. Suffrage is a prerogative conferred by the community, and conditioned when it is

conferred. A man has no more natural right to vote in a political campaign than he has to vote in a State legislature.

It is claimed that women must be given the suffrage to protect them from the injuries inflicted on them by men. I confess that this claim arouses my indignation. To set class against class is bad, to set race against race is worse, to set religion against religion is even more perilous; but to set sex against sex is a degradation so deep that political polemics can go no further. That a hundred years ago women suffered under legal limitations which worked injustice is undoubtedly true. Some of them were framed for woman's protection; others of them were a relic of an earlier barbarism. Both have disappeared with an advancing civilization. All lawyers know that the prejudice of all juries and of many judges is in favor of woman in any case in which women are involved. All legislators know that a woman's lobby is a most difficult one to resist. If there are any disabilities under which women still suffer because they are women, I venture to affirm that a common appeal would invariably and quickly bring their repeal. I do not forget the appeal made last year by the teachers in New York City for a law requiring equal wages for equal work. But it was not an appeal by women for women; it was an appeal by a special class for that class. That the suffrage is not necessary to protect women against the oppressions is strikingly illustrated by a recent decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, in which it was decided that a law limiting the hours of woman's labor in the factory is constitutional and that she has a special right to protection by the law because of her special disadvantages, a right which the man working at her side does not possess.

It is also claimed, with what adequacy of evidence I do not know, that wage earning women desire the ballot. The fact that twenty per cent. of the women are wage earners and that only five per cent of the women in industrial Massachusetts voted that they wished the suffrage, does not confirm this claim. But were it true, what then? Over half the wage

earning women in the United States cease to be wage earners at twenty-five.

Finally we are asked to impose the ballot upon women as a means of securing moral reforms which the men are either unwilling or incompetent to accomplish. Perhaps the argument which has been the most effective to counter-balance the objection to woman suffrage has been that they could vote for the abolition of the saloon. The women who are affected by this argument forget that Hebrew history had a Jezebel as well as a Queen Esther, and a European history a Lucretia Borgia, and a Katherine de Medici, as well as a Queen Victoria. Vice, ignorance, and superstition are not confined to either sex. I accept the testimony of the President of the United States, of Mr. Elihu Root, and of Mr. James Bryce, that woman suffrage has not produced any marked improvements in the condition of women, or of the State.

The primary duty of the woman is to be the helpmeet, the housewife, and the mother. The call of woman to leave her duty, and take up man's duties, is an impossible call. Mothers, wives, sisters, I urge you not to allow yourselves to be enticed into assuming functions for which you have no inclinations. Woman's instinct is the star that guides her to divinely appointed life, and it guides to a manger where an infant is laid.

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The government publications listed below can usually be obtained by the student through the Congressman from his district. Additional material can also be secured sometimes from the Congressman, upon the written request of the student. If more affirmative material is wanted than is given in this bulletin, write to the National American Woman Suffrage Association, 505 5th Ave., New York City, for a list of pamphlets and prices. The best single publication to get from this Association is a bound volume entitled "Woman Suffrage, Arguments and Results." Price, 25c. For additional material on the negative side in addition to the references given in this bibliography, send to the New York State Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, 29 W. 39th St., New York City, and to the Massachusetts Association Opposed to the Further Extension of Suffrage to Women, Room 615, Kensington Building, Boston, for a list of pamphlets that these organizations have for distribution. In the lists given below the articles which are starred (*) are quoted from or summarized in the pamphlet which is sent, under separate cover, to all schools having membership in the Union.

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